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The Union, the Constitution and Slavery.

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THE UNION,

THE CONSTITUTION,

AND

SLAVERY.

Nathaniel Smith Richardson

FROM

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The Union, the Constitution, and Slavery.

(1.) *The papers of James Madison*, purchased by order of Congress, &c., &c. Three Volumes. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 1840.

(2.) *Annals of Congress.* Second Session, Sixteenth Congress. 1820–1.

(3.) *Curtis's History of the Constitution of the United States.* Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854.

The struggle in which this nation is engaged has already reached that stage in its progress when words of counsel may be offered, when principles may be discussed, when, if any man can throw light upon the questions at issue, or say or do aught to assuage the bitterness of feeling, and become the instrument of Peace, he is bound not to keep silent. For almost three years, the fierce passions, the mighty energies, the vast resources of the entire country, North and South, have been called into full play; at what terrible cost, it is too soon yet to estimate. We do not suppose that the War is yet at an end; but we do believe that Reason is beginning to resume her throne. Men are beginning to ask, when is this awful sacrifice of the young best life of the country to cease? What are the ends, for which the War is to be protracted? What are the difficulties, in the way of securing those ends? In responding to these inquiries, in the present Article, we shall write with entire frankness; and while we utter only our own individual convictions, we shall do it in complete independence of all political parties, and, as far as may be, of all sectional prejudices.

We express then, first of all, our full and confirmed belief, that a permanent separation of this Nation is an utter impossibility. The reasons for this belief, we have no space to give in detail. We waive here, altogether, the question of the

right of Secession. We aver that the American people were designed, by the Creator, to be one Nation, and not many Nations. Geographically and commercially we must be one. Our great Rivers bind together the great West and North West with the South West, indissolubly, and they will bind them together as long as those waters run. The Mississippi River, from its source to the Gulf of Mexico, can never wash the soil of two nations; it must belong to one great and united people. The mighty domain which was purchased by Napoleon, two generations ago, at a great price, and as a great national necessity, will not, cannot now be abandoned, by the numerous population of the great and growing States which are planted upon its numerous and mighty tributaries. Commercially, and socially, as well as by vast internal means of communication, the Northwest and the Southwest are linked to the Atlantic States by just as firm a bond. Differences of climate and productions, and natural resources, so far from separating such a people, are, or may be, the very elements and conditions of union. The North, and the West, and the South, are mutually made for, and dependent upon each other. An endless border warfare, ruin, utter and remediless, awaits their separation; and this is to be one of the lessons of this unnatural and terrible War. They have flourished together so long and so gloriously, that they had become each proud, self-consequential envious, jealous of the other. Alienated from each other temporarily such a people may be, yet the bonds which unite and bind them together are natural, and will be permanent. What events are concealed in the future, ere this will be the solution of our difficulties, God only knows; but one united Nation, sooner or later, we must and shall become. That God, in His wrath, has given up this nation to ruin, and that in that catastrophe He will permit so many and such hopes to be forever blasted, we cannot yet bring ourselves to believe.

Neither is Slavery the alone cause, or even the principal cause of the War. It is the *occasion* of it, and it will be and is the great difficulty in the way of a return to Peace. The cause of the War, the primary cause, lying back of and giving shape and direction to all other causes, is the Sins of the Na-

tion. It is the want of Public and Private Virtue. It is the corruptions, the bribery, the peculations, the fraud, notoriously and shamelessly practiced in high places. It is the alarming extent to which the National Government has trampled upon the sanctions of the Divine Law, holding its Sessions of Congress on God's Holy Day, admitting to its Council Chambers men steeped in the heathenish abominations and brutalities of Mormonism. It is the rapid spread of theoretical and practical Infidelity among the masses of the people, the trampling under foot of God's Revelation, the rejection of the old Christian Creeds and Articles of Faith, by those once deemed orthodox, and, as a consequence, the undermining of the public conscience. Washington said, in his Farewell Address, "reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National Morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." And yet, Religious Principles have lost and are losing their hold on the belief, and conscience, and policy of the Nation. It is the frightful list of crimes against Morality ; the judicial trampling upon the sacredness of Marriage, that great Conservator of Social Virtue, and the direct sanction thus given to heathenish lust and licentiousness.* It is the growing disregard of the Christian Sabbath, and with it, the destruction of the great bulwark of every Moral and Christian Virtue. It is the disobedience to parents, the intemperance, the profanity, the crimes against life and property and reputation, against which the Civil Law is becoming more and more powerless. Here, in this long but incomplete catalogue, is the real cause of the War. In the history of the world, such a Nation, under the Providence of God, never has prospered. Servants to sin, unwilling to govern themselves, men have become incapable of governing others ; and so have yielded themselves the slaves of despotic power in some form. Such a process, in the economy of Nations, is both a philosophical necessity, and the Law of God's dealings with His children. It always has been

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* As one instance among a thousand; while we write, we notice the following paragraph:—

Divorce Cases.—There are one hundred and seventy-four divorce cases on the docket of the Supreme Court in Suffolk county, Mass.

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so, and always will be, until the end of time. Hence, if we would be peace-makers, and on the only durable or possible basis, we must humble ourselves before God ; we must repent of our sins ; we must come back to those "Religious Principles," as Washington called them, the sanctions of the Divine Law, and the immutable verities of the Christian Faith, on which alone National virtue, prosperity and glory can ever depend.

Although we have named the primary cause of the War, there were secondary, and more immediate causes, the potency of which will vary, in the estimation of different persons. Among these, are the hereditary antipathies of Cavalier and Roundhead, begotten in the stormy period of English history, and never yet forgotten. There is the old notion, which still clings to the degenerate Puritan, that as "the elect of God" and peculiar favorite of Heaven, it is his special mission, not less than that of the Ultra-Montanist, (and the two Systems have more points of correspondence than is sometimes supposed,) to wield "the two swords," Civil and Ecclesiastical. It was this notion which possessed the fiery zealot, Oliver Cromwell ; who, in the name of Liberty and Philanthropy, perpetrated fearful tyrannies and atrocities ; in the name of a truer Civilization, was guilty of the most shameful barbarities ; and in the name of Religion, went to such an extreme of impiety, that, as Bishop Kennet says, "Heresies and Blasphemies against Heaven were swelled up to a most prodigious height."* Macaulay, who cannot be charged with partiality for the Church, says, speaking of the Puritan dynasty :—

"Another government arose, which, like the former, considered religion as its surest basis, and the religious disipline of the people its first duty. Sanguinary laws were enacted against libertinism; profane pictures were burned; drapery was put on indecorous statues; the theatres were shut up; fast days were numerous; and the Parliament resolved, that no person should be admitted to any public employment, unless the House should be satisfied of his vital godliness. We know what was the end of this training. We know that it ended in impiety, in filthy and heartless sensuality; in the dissolution of all ties of honor and morality. We know that, at this very day, scriptural phrases, scriptural names, perhaps some

* Complete Hist. Vol. 3, p. 261. See also *Edwards's Gangræna*, Book I. Part 3, p. 75; and Grey's Reply to Neal, Vol. IV. pp. 58–65; 91–5.

scriptural doctrines, excite disgust and ridicule, solely because they are associated with the austerity of that period. The training of the High Church ended in the reign of the Puritans, and the training of the Puritans, in the reign of the harlots."*

England, having tried Political Puritanism for twenty years, during half of which time the System had full play, was glad to restore to the throne that miserable specimen of humanity, the reckless, sensual, hypocritical Charles II.; and she has never cared to repeat the experiment. When men find, in their own wicked hearts, a "Law" higher than the Law of God, they will not hesitate to justify, by such a "Law," any and every act to which the propensities of the heart lead them. History has no darker page than the long list of deeds of brutal lust and savage barbarity, which have been perpetrated in the name of Religion.† This innate idea of a "mission," inwrought into the very framework and texture of the Puritan, makes him, of necessity, whatever his character, a professional "reformer;" this is his vocation; in other words, he becomes a meddler in other people's business. Horace Greeley, himself a New Englander by birth, and a fair type of the modern theory, has expressed this Puritan idea exactly. It is not original with him; it is one of Louis Napoleon's maxims, but Greeley endorses it. *"March at the head of the ideas of your age, and then these ideas will follow and support you."* Here, in a nutshell, is the secret of the demagogism of the modern Puritan Pulpit.‡

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* *Macaulay's Miscellanies*, Vol. I. p. 312, 313.

† When a Clergyman, at the late Andover Commencement, said, "Give me the infidelity of Theodore Parker, rather than the orthodoxy of the New York Observer," he reminds us of the "Wallingford Community," in Conn., founded by a preacher of the same School; and of the exhibitions of human depravity in Cromwell's time, by "Higher Law" men and women.—See Gray's Reply to Neal, Vol. IV. pp. 59–69.

‡ In the early settlement of the New Haven Colony, after enacting that "none shall be admitted to be free Burgesses in any of the Plantations within this jurisdiction, for the future, but such Planters as are members of some or other of the approved Churches in New England," and that "the Court shall, with all care and diligence, provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion, *and suppress the contray*;" it was enacted, in April, 1644, "that the Judicial Laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses * * * shall be a rule to all the Courts in this Jurisdiction." The historian says: "Thus it appears that the only code recognized in the

Amond the secondary causes of the War, must be mentioned the different habits and customs which grow naturally out of the different Systems of Free and Slave labor, antagonistic in one consolidated Government, yet reconcilable and capable of harmonious adjustment in a Republic. There are the bad exponents of Northern and Southern character, who have carried into both sections false impressions, and who have awakened mutual dislike and hatred. There is a strong sectional ambition and jealousy, which has fully determined to destroy a union under which both North and South have mutually flourished. There is, at the South, a feeling of mortified pride, and more or less apprehension, at seeing the monopoly of place and power rapidly and surely pass out of its control.* And there

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Jurisdiction at this time, was the Mosaic Law, which very well coincided with their notion, that all Government should be in the Church, inasmuch as "the saints should rule the earth."—*Lambert's History of the Colony of New Haven*, pp. 23, 24, 38.

It is publicly reported that one of these "reformers" declared, not long since, that when they had got rid of Slavery, there were two other great evils to be assailed; one of them the Roman Catholic, and the other, the Protestant Episcopal Church.

* Alexander H. Stevens, of Georgia now Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, said, in a speech at the Georgia Convention on Secession, (Jan. 16, 1861;) "What have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government. We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are united as we have been. We have had a majority of Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the Judges of the Supreme Court—we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South.

"This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner, we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of the Government. In choosing the Presiding Presidents (pro tem.) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three and they twelve. While the majority of the Represenatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the General Government. Attorney Generals, we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers, we have had eighty-six, and they fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the free States, from the greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies,

has been, also, at the South, a full determination no longer to build up the manufacturing and commercial greatness of the North, but to secure these elements of national strength for itself.

Among these more immediate causes of the War, we mention, last of all, and worst of all, the influence of a class of Disunionists in both sections of the country, North and South. At the South, they were open Secessionists; and the interests of Slavery was the weapon with which they now played upon the passions and aroused the strong feelings of the people. At the North, this class of men has embraced various and most divers characters, fanatics, infidels, and philanthropists; yet all, out-and-out, Anti-Constitutionalists. Unfortunately, too, although the number of really leading characters among the avowed Disunionists in both sections was insignificant, and might almost have been counted on one's fingers, yet there were among them some men of real power and influence over the masses. They may have been honest in their convictions, but they were wholly mistaken and terribly mischievous. These, more than all other immediate causes, were the firebrands which set the country ablaze; and these men, still playing into each other's hands, are now the great obstacle to a return to peace.

Slavery, as we have said, is not the alone or principal cause of this War. There was more Slavery in the country, comparatively, at the adoption of the Constitution, than there is now, or ever will be again. But Slavery was the occasion of the War, and it will form the great subject of debate, of agi-

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so as to secure the world's markets for our cotton, tobacco and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors and comptrollers filling the Executive department, the record shows, for the last fifty years, that of the three thousand thus emloyed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic. Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting Government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for support of government has uniformily been raised from the North."

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tation, and of difficulty, in the final settlement of our troubles. For more than thirty years an antagonistic sentiment has been growing up, both at the North and the South, on the subject of Slavery, which was sure in the end, sooner or later, to convulse the whole country; because it was a sentiment directly at war with the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

At the North, Acts of State Legislatures had been passed, calculated to render inoperative that clause of the Constitution which requires the rendition of fugitive slaves; although, we are glad to say, the most obnoxious of these had been repealed. Ecclesiastical bodies have enacted disiplinary regulations on the subject of Slavery; such as would render cordial communion and fellowship with Christians at the South an utter impossibility. So intense has this feeling become, that there is a party at the North, strong and determined, which has taken the ground that the War ought not to end, and never shall end, until Slavery in all the States is utterly exterminated; at all events, that the old Union of Free and Slave States shall never be re-adjusted on the basis of the old Constitution. We shall not cite the formal action, the Resolutions, &c., of various religious bodies in the North, and especially in New England, showing that they have endorsed and are sustaining this War directly on the ground, not that it is a War for the Constitution, but a War against Slavery. The American "Anti-Slavery Society," which held its Anniversary in the "Church of the Puritans," on the 12th of May last, adopted, "with loud applause," among others, the following Resolutions :—

Resolved, That while the Society has rendered this verdict with the deepest emphasis, THE CONSTITUTION A COVENANT WITH HELL, it has not failed to remind the people of the North that, ever since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, "their feet have run to evil, and they have made haste to shed innocent blood," in the way of slaveholding complicty; that, by consenting to a slave representation in Congress, to the arrest and rendition of fugitive slaves on their own soil, and to the suppression of slave insurrections by the iron hand of the General Government, they have made "*a covenant with death, and with hell have they been at agreement*," till, at last, "judgment is laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet," and the hail sweeps away the refuge of lies, the waters overflow the hiding place. the covenant with death is annulled, and the agreement with hell no longer stands.

CONSTITUTION MUST NEVER BE RENEWED.

Resolved, That being thus delivered from that guilty relation—alas! not by repentance or reformation on their part, but by the insane rebellion of those with whom they have hitherto struck hands—the "traffickers in slaves and the souls of men"—☞IT MUST NEVER BE RENEWED, come what may; but the Federal Government must henceforth be over all, and for all, and under the national flag every human being in the land must find freedom and protection, anything in any State Constitution or State laws, to the contrary notwithstanding.

On the platform of that Meeting, speaking and voting for these Resolutions, with other of the most radical men of the country, infidels and nominal Christians, was a Mr. Theodore Tilton, Editor of the *Independent* (Newspaper,) a paper to which Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D. D. ! and Horace Greeley, are regular contributors ; a paper which, since the breaking to pieces of the old Puritan Platforms, has become, together with Greeley's *Tribune*, the practical religious exponent and authority of a large portion of New England. We know, from the most reliable sources of information, that these Resolutions embody the opinions, and express the fixed determination of many who yet would not care to be seen in such a place as the "Church of the Puritans." The Constitutional oaths of these persons, and the awful sin of perjury which the adoption of such Resolutions necessarily involves, seem to have lost their impression upon those who have "become a law unto themselves."*

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* The infidel philosophy of Horace Greeley, though not so silver-toned as that of Wendell Phillips, is more taking with the people.

To show the animus of the *Tribune*, and of the party which it represents, we reprint, as a matter of history, the following lines, which first appeared in the *Tribune*, on the old Flag:—

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

All hail the flaunting *Lie!*
The stars grow pale and dim;
The stripes are bloody scars—
A lie the vaunting hymn.
It shields a *pirate's* deck,
It binds a man in chains,
It yokes a captive's neck,
And wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting Lie!
Half-mast the starry flag!

All this on one hand. On the other, extreme men at the South have taken ground not known or recognized by the Fathers of this Republic, and as directly opposed to the Constitution as that occupied by the most rabid Abolitionists. Not protection, but aggression, has been their watchword. They have claimed Slavery to be, not a State, or Municipal, but a national Institution ; and have demanded for it the protection of the National Flag, every where in the United States ; and have insisted that they may go as permanent occupants, and carry Slavery with them into any and all the Territories of the country, hithertofore declared free. They have taken steps for the re-opening of the Slave Trade ; and, within a few years, slaves in considerable numbers have been imported directy into the South, from the coast of Africa.*

Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag!
Destroy it ye who can!
Deep sink it in the waves!
It bears a fellow man
To groan with fellow slaves.

Furl, furl the boasted Lie,
Till freedom lives again
To rule once more in truth
Among untrammeled men.
Roll up the starry sheen,
Conceal its bloody stains,
For in its folds are seen
The stamp of rustling chains.

The Rev. Dr. Massy, of London, of the English Abolition Clerical Delegation to this country, is reported to have said, at a Farewell Meeting, at the New York Tabernacle, September 27, 1863:—

"He next spoke of his impressions, derived from his intercourse with the religionists of every sect throughout the United States. He found no vindictive feeling whatever amongst any against the South; but the universal feeling was, that the South should not be re-admitted to the Union till slavery was abolished throughout her borders. The revolted States must come back as subjects, not as rulers; they must not only give up rebellion, but they must give up slavery also Applause"

*In the Senate of South Carolina, the Hon. O. M. Dantzler offered the following Resolutions, December 10, 1859, and supported them in an elaborate argument, which is now before us:—

Resolved, That the Southern States shall be, of right, supreme upon the questions which affect the fortunes of Domestic Slavery.

As a natural fruit of this Northern and Southern sentiment, feelings of alienation and bitterness have grown up between the people of the two sections. On the one hand, the evils and abuses incident to Slavery, such as the violent separation of families, the disregard of the Marriage relation, the gross licentiousness, &c., &c., have been persistently spread before the people of the North, while other and more redeeming facts and features have been as studiously withheld.*

Resolved, That the measures of the General Government, restrictive of the Foreign Slave Trade, are in derogation of this right, and ought to be repealed.

The Richmond Enquirer, (Va.) in an editorial, said:—"The Convention with Great Britain was a triumph of English Abolitionism over the good natured stupidity of the American Government. At the foundation of the Treaty lies the principle that negro slavery is an iniquity and an outrage against human and Divine law. If slavery be morally right and a social benefit, then there can be no impropriety, much less guilt, in extending it. The Convention with Great Britian, while it has failed to accomplish its object, infinitely aggravates the sufferings of the negro, and prevents the supply of African labor from keeping pace with the growing demands of an agriculture which is essential to the wants of civilization. For these reasons we say, *Abrogate the Convention.*

But the demands of civilization are not evaded with impunity. *The world must have a supply of tropical productions, and there can be no tropical production without compulsory labor.* The obstructions thrown in the way of the African Slave Trade have not arrested the traffic, but they have reduced it until *it is altogether inadequate to the wants of mankind.*"

* From a communication in a late English paper, we take the following grouping of facts:—

"I take the Episcopal Church, and I open the diocesan returns of the General Convention held (at Richmond) in 1859, the last before the Secession. Written, as they are, by Southern voluntaryists, for the perusal of those who pay, they are conclusive. In Alabama, 'increasing attention is given to the religious instruction of the blacks.' In Mississippi, 'on every hand is observed the increasing desire on the part of masters to give unto their servants the blessings of the Gospel and the Church.' North Carolina honestly owns that 'the religious instruction of the slaves has been followed up, it is hoped, with increased diligence and success; but it must be acknowledged that the diocese is still far below the standard of duty in this important work.' But in South Carolina, 'about fifty chapels for the benefit of negroes on plantations, are now in use for the worship of God and the religious instructions of slaves. Many planters employ missionaries or catechists for this purpose; many more would do so if it were possible to procure them. Some of the present candidates for holy orders are looking forward to this special work.' One parish has 'thirteen chapels for negroes, supplied with regular services. The number of negroes, attending the services of the Church in this diocese cannot be shown by statistics; it is very large and increasing annually.' Nay, there is a mission, chiefly for the benefit of the slaves in Charleston; and among the 1,942

Not infrequently, too, visitors from the South, specimens of wealthy vulgarity, in no sense representing the respectability and refinement of that region, have exhibited at the North an

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confirmed during the trienniad, 1,211 were colored; of the 4,775 baptized, 3,557 colored; of the 667 married, 374 colored; and of the 5,672 communicants, 2,819 colored.

'The time has come,' say the Confederate Bishops in their pastoral of 1862, 'when the Church should press more urgently than she has hitherto done upon the laity, the solemn fact that the slaves of the South are not merely so much property, but are a sacred trust committed to us as a people, to be prepared for the work which God may have for them to do in future. * * * The Church must offer more freely her ministrations for their benefit and improvement.' The teachings of the Church are those which best suit a people passing 'from ignorance to civilization,' owing to its 'objective worship;' 'bald spiritualism' too often leading 'to crime and licentiousness.'

Such are the opinions of the Southern Episcopalians. But the unestablished Episcopal Church is all through the States emphatically a gauge of educated public opinion. The other bodies of Christians, Protestant and Roman Catholic, have each their tale to tell of missionary work among the blacks, aided and encouraged by the masters. Mr. Jones has called attention to an 'address to Christians throughout the world, by the clergy of the Confederate States.' It is essentially a non-episcopalian Protestant document, and out of its ninety-eight signatures there are only four clergymen of our Church. But it is remarkably confirmatory of the pastoral. Both agree in repudiating 'abolitionism,' and no great wonder, considering what Boston means by that word, and how the South regards Boston's meaning. Yet it says, 'While the State should seek by wholesome legislation to regard the interests of master and slave, we, as ministers, would preach the Word to both, as we are commanded of God;' and the notes state that the 'total number of communicants' (*i. e.*, of regular marked down attendants at specific places of worship) in the Christian Churches, in the Confederate States, is about two millions and fifty thousand,' of whom the blacks come in for 'five hundred thousand,' or one-fourth of the 'adult population' of negroes. I have neither means nor desire to prove or disprove these figures; they refute the discouragement of religion among the blacks, else these ninety-eight voluntarist ministers would not have dared to publish them.

* * * * * We read in the pastoral of the Southern Bishops—'It is likewise the duty of the Church to press upon the masters of the country their obligation, as Christian men, so to arrange this institution as not to necessitate the violation of those sacred relations which God has created, and which man cannot, consistently with Christian duty, annul'—namely, those of parent and child, and of husband and wife. The next sentence is still bolder, where it talks of these 'unchristian features!' adding that 'a very little care upon our part, would 'rid the system' of them. Let Mr. Hole note what follows—'we rejoice to be enabled to say that the public sentiment is rapidly becoming sound upon this subject, and that *the Legislatures of several of the Confederate States have already taken steps towards their consummation.*'"

insolent bearing, which has only intestified the bitterness of sectional hatred. So, too, at the South, the working classes of the North,—and almost every man of power and influence here is in some sense a working man,—have been stigmatized by low and opprobrious epithets, and the immoralities and vices of our large cities have been charged upon the whole population of the North, inflaming the Southern mind with prejudice and dislike. These, and such as these, have been the weapons which political agitators on both sides have used with but too much success. This war, among its other results, will, before it is ended, bring the North and the South to a better understanding with each other. It will teach the South, that there is a chivalry, courage, and dignity of character at the North, which is not to be trifled with. It will teach the North, that there is a Christian conscience, a high-toned moral culture at the South, which is to be respected and loved, and which may safely be entrusted with its own duties; which, at least, will not permit an officious and mischievous intermeddling.

Such were the causes, remote and immediate, of the War; and such was the occasion of it. As for the War itself, the South has cause for irritation; possibly, for more or less of apprehension; but none for that last dreadful resort, War. Even the nomination and election of a sectional Presidential candidate, did not, in the slightest degree, justify such an appeal, so long as the General Government made no infringement on the Constitutional rights of the South; and this has never been pretended. We say here publicly, what we said privately every where at the South, in the Winter of 1859–60, at Charleston, and Augusta, and Montgomery, and Mobile, and New Orleans, that the great mass of the Northern people were, and would be, true to every Constitutional pledge; but that they would never consent to see the Constitution sacrificed. We saw then that the South under-estimated the spirit, courage, and determination of the North.

We say further, that the North has not, at certain great crises, been sufficiently careful to guard itself against misapprehension; and we instance the famous "Peace Convention" of February, 1861. Mr. Lincoln had just been elected by a

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minority vote, and by the aid of the ultra-Abolitionists.* At the South, it was charged, and extensively and really believed, that it was the purpose of the party now come into power to trample upon the Constitution, and make war upon the institution of Slavery in the States. At this "Peace Convention," the most important held since the Federal Convention of 1787, unfortunately, there were persons present who still carried with them that depth of sectional bitter feeling which had been exhibited and engendered in the late Presidential campaign. Near the close of the sessions, amidst great exasperation, when every thing seemed to hang upon the casting of a single die, the great issue was brought distinctly to the test. The "Crittenden Resolutions," which would not have added practically to the area of Slave Territory, would, at that crisis, have saved the country from War ; and those Resolutions (substantially) would have passed the Convention, but for the sharp management and persistent opposition of a few Northern radical men. Mr. Baldwin, of Connecticut, as their leader, made a Report against those Resolutions ;† and they were finally disposed of in a way to fill the friends of the Union with the deepest anxiety.‡ A different policy on the part of that Convention, would have secured the great Border States of the South to the Union, without whom Secession would have been, comparatlively, harmless.

There is still another point on which we wish distinctly to define our position. We do not touch at all here, much less do we discuss, the moral character of Slavery itself. Whether

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*1860. Nov. 6.—The election for President and Vice President was held in all the States, and resulted as follows:—

Total number of votes in Southern States,	1,310,907
" " in Northern States,	3,429,075
Whole number of votes in the Union,	4,739,982
Vote for Lincoln,	1,865,840

Vote against Lincoln:—Douglas received 1,288,043.—Breckinridge, 836,801.—Bell, 742,747.—Total, 2,867,591. Majority in the Union against Lincoln, 1,001,751

† See debates in the Convention of February 16, 1861.

‡ Mr. Mason, of Virginia, is said to have at once telegraphed to his friends to prepare for the worst, for all hopes of an amicable settlement were lost.

it be, abstractly considered, as great a wrong as the most ultra abolitionist contends ; or, whether it be, as others claim, a Scriptural and divine institution, and so defensible on the highest and holiest of all considerations, does not, in the slightest degree, enter into the argument which we shall present. We observe, however, that they who would defend Slavery by the Scriptural argument, seem to have forgotten that the Slavery for which they plead, was the Slavery of the white or the red race, not of the black ;* and on the other hand, we are certain that the immediate forcible emancipation of the slaves of the South, without preparation, and without provision for their support and protection, would be the greatest injury, in every respect, which could be inflicted upon them. Slavery, in the Roman Empire, even of a race or races far higher elevated in civilization, did not cease by any such process. True Civilization, Emancipation in any valuable sense, Reform of Social Evil of any kind, is a growth, not an *opus operatum;* and must be the fruit of the supernatural, Christian element, the only source of recovery from the Moral Evil of Nature. This was the theory of Reform, taught by the Saviour and His Apostles ; and it is that which the Ministers of the Church, with few exceptions, have so uniformly inculcated. And here we differ, *ab initio et toto cœlo*, from the Socinian and Infidel theory of Reform, which has indentified itself with the early Abolition movement in this country. We believe in Christianity, and have faith in it. We say, adhere to the Constitution religiously, its letter and its spirit, and trust to the regenerating, reforming power of Christianity to purify, mould and elevate. The Infidel denies such a supernatural element now, as he denied it in the old French Revolution. He points to Moral and Social Evils, and would exterminate them now as he tried to exterminate them then, by violent and physical agencies ; and then he casts reproach upon Christianity, because its disciples and teachers do not respond to his methods. It is the most potent weapon

* We do not regard here the curse denounced upon Canaan, (Gen. ix. 25), because it never has been and cannot be proved, that the negroes are descendants of Canaan; although it is a popular opinion, and is usually taken for granted.

that Infidelity ever used with the masses of the people. We are willing to let Christianity bide its time.

With these preliminary remarks, we come to the great moral question involved in this national struggle. That question must and will come up in its final settlement, settle it how we may. And yet there are certain fundamental facts entering into the very basis of this whole subject—facts which the English people, and especially English Christians, seem utterly unable to grasp—facts which, for some reason, are ignored by, and are losing their hold upon multitudes of conscientious people at the North, to which we invite attention. Our proposition is, that in the light of history, and of God's Providence, Slavery in the States need not, and ought not to be, an obstacle to the peaceable, speedy, and permanent settlement of our national troubles, and to return to a Union of all the States under one Government. We do not discuss here the political *status* of the Seceded States, when the question of Peace shall come up. We do, however, bear witness to the revolutionary character of the position which extreme men of the North are taking upon this point; aiming as it does at the annihilation of State Governments, and at the subversion of the foundations, and the destruction of the frame-work of our National Government.* If these men succeed in what seems

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* No where has the doctrine of State Sovereignty been more strenuously maintained than in New England, when its sectional interests were imperiled. A Report of the General Assembly of Connecticut, made August 25th, 1812, said:—

"But it must not be forgotten that the State of Connecticut is a *free, sovereign and independent* State; that the United States are a *Confederacy* of States; that we are a Confederated, and not a Consolidated Republic. The Governor of this State is under a high and solemn obligation '*to maintain the lawful rights and privileges thereof, as a Sovereign, Free and Independent State,*' as he is '*to support the Constitution of the United States,*' and the obligation to support the latter, imposes an additional obligation to support the former."

The Report of the Hartford Convention of January, 1815, was still more vehement. It said:—

"The power of compelling the militia and other citizens of the United States, by a forcible draft or conscription, to serve in the regular armies, as proposed in a late official letter of the Secretary of War, is not delegated to Congress by the Constitution, and the exercise of it would be not less dangerous to their liberties than hostile to the Sovereignty of the States. * * * * In this whole series of devices and measures for raising men, this Convention discern

to be a fixed determination, we are indeed in the midst of a Revolution, and of changes in the very structure of our Government, greater, we venture to believe, than they themselves now dream, and with some consequences which they do not now foresee.

It must never be forgotten,—and we reach now a fact, which lies at the very foundation of what we have to say,—that the original Thirteen Colonies had, and always had, the right to manage their own Domestic Institutions in their own way ; that this right they have never surrendered, except in certain specified cases ; that this right they still possess ; that Domestic Slavery is one of these Institutions ; that the General Government, the Free State Governments, and the people of these States, have no legal right to interfere with this Domestic Institution, where it exists. We shall show, before we are done, that if interference is called for, the Northern States are the very last parties to engage in it. The personal responsibility of the people of the Northern States for the Domestic Institutions of the Southern States, can never be claimed on any theory which does not render not only all social compacts, but even social and commercial intercourse, in a world like this, an utter impossibility. As well, and far better, hold British Christians responsible for the Governmental endowment of Idolatry in India, the opium smuggling in China, and the raising of sugar crops in Cuba. We take for granted here, that the Government of the United States is a Government of limited, delegated powers ; and yet clothed with full authority to render that Government effective within its specified sphere. Here lies the difference between the Government under the present Constitution, and the Government under the Articles of Confederation. And yet, it is a fundamental principle in our Government, that, in the language of Article X, (of the Articles in addition to and amendment of the Constitution of

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a total disregard for the Constitution, and a disposition to violate its provisions, demanding from the individual States a firm and decided opposition. An iron despotism can impose no harder servitude upon the citizen than to force him from his home and his occupation, to wage offensive wars, undertaken to gratify the pride or passions of his master."

the United States, and formally adopted December 15, 1791,)* "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." As we have already said, the entire control of Slavery in the several States, is one of those rights never delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor "prohibited by it to the States;" and hence, "is reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." And hence, with Slavery in the Slave States, neither the General Government, nor the Free States, nor the people of the Free States, have any legal right to interfere. And aside from the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, there are reasons why the people of the Northern States may with propriety leave the resposibility of American Slavery to their Southern brethren.

We shall not enter minutely into the history of American Slavery in and during the Colonial period. All portions of our country participated in it. As early as 1620, the English began to introduce Negro Slavery into the Colony of Virginia.† In 1637, the Puritans of Massachusetts are found, not only selling the Indians into servitude, but buying Negroes as slaves for their own use.‡ Rev. Dr. Belknap, of Boston, Mass, in a

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* These amendments were prepared at the First Congress, March 4, 1789, two-thirds of both Houses concurring; and were ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, the Legislatures of Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and Georgia, refusing to ratify. These amendments, thus early adopted and made binding, were in the nature of a Declaration of Rights, and were expressly framed to guard the States against the encroachments of the General Government.

† Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. I. pp. 85–9.

‡ See *Felt's History of Salem*, p. 167. The Puritans held slaves as early as 1637, a few years after the settlement. In 1641, we find the following among the Massachusetts laws:—

"There shall never be any bond slavery, villanage, nor captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in *just* wars; and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or *are sold* unto us; and these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God, established in Israel, requires."

In 1698, she passed a law prohibiting purchasing goods of slaves, under suspicious circumstances. In 1703, she made a law prohibiting masters from emancipating their slaves, unless they gave security that they should not become town paupers. The same year, a statute prohibited any Indian, Negro, or Mulatto servant or *slave* being abroad after nine o'clock at night, unless on errands for their

letter to Judge Tucker, of Williamsburg, Va., in 1795, admits the existence of Negro Slavery in Massachusetts, and that the Slave Trade was prosecuted by merchants of Massachusetts. He says that "the slaves purchased in Africa, were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the Southern Colonies ; but when these markets were glutted, and the price low, some of them were brought hither." He says, the slaves were most numerous in Massachusetts about 1745, and amounted to about 1 to 40 of the whites ; and probably numbered about 4,000 or 5,000.*

Mr. Samuel G. Drake, in his history of Boston, says that "many Irish people had been sent to New England," and sold as "slaves or servants." Also, that "many of the Scotch people had been sent, before this, in the same way. Some of them had been taken prisoners, at the sanguinary battle of

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masters or *owners*. In 1705, by another act, slaves were, for certain offences, to be sold out of the province. Any Negro or Mulatto, who should strike any of the English or other Christian nation, was to be severely whipped. Marriages were to be allowed between slaves, but I have found no law prohibiting a husband and wife from being sold apart. An import duty on Negroes of £4 per head was imposed, but the duty was to be paid back, if the Negro was exported, and "*bona fide* sold in any other plantation." "And the like advantages of the drawback shall be allowed to the purchaser of any Negro sold within the Province."

In 1707, we find an act punishing free Negroes or Mulattoes, for harboring any Negro or Mulatto servant. And in 1718, an act imposed a penalty on every master of a vessel who should carry away any person under age, or *bought* or hired servant, without the master's or parent's consent. All these laws are to be found in the old folio volumes of Provincial Statutes.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts prohibited the enlistment of slaves in the army ; thus showing that slavery legally existed there in May, 1775. The reason given is a curious one—that they were contending for the liberties of the Colonies, and the admission into the army of any others but freemen, would be inconsistent with the principles to be supported, and reflect dishonor on the Colony.—*Hon. E. R. Potter's Speech in Senate of Rhode Island, March* 14, 1863.

"In the year 1657, (during the reign of Endicott,) Lawrence Southwick, and Cassandra, his wife, very aged members of the Church in Salem, Mass., for offering entertainment to two Quakers, were fined and imprisoned. They absented themselves from meeting, and were fined and whipped. A son and daughter of this aged, and, according to Puritan standard, pious couple, were also fined for non-attendance at meeting ; and not paying this fine, the General Court, by a special order, empowered the Treasurer *to sell them as slaves to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes.*"—Lambert's History of Colony at New Haven, p. 187.

* Mass. His. Collections. Vol. IV. pp. 191—211.

Dunbar. There arrived in one ship, the 'John and Sara,' John Greene, Master, early in the summer of 1652, about 272 persons. Capt. Greene had orders to deliver them to Thomas Kemble, of Charlestown, who was to sell them, and, with the proceeds, to take freight for the West Indies."*

In 1790, when the Constitution had been adopted by the Thirteen States, Slavery existed in every one of the Northern States, except Massachusetts, where it had proved unprofitable; the climate was too cold, the slaves where a drug, and the institution was abolished in 1788. New Hampshire had 158 slaves; Rhode Island, 952; Connecticut, 2,759; New York, 21,324; New Jersey, 11,423; Pennsylvania, 3,737; and in the entire country, there were 682,633 slaves.*

In 1787, when the Convention of Delegates from the Thirteen States came together to form the Constitution, a variety of conflicting interests occupied the attention of the Convention. Among these were the basis of representation and taxation, and the rights and privileges of Trade and Commerce. Slavery had ceased to be profitable at the North, and was gradually dying out. At the extreme South, it gave indications of a prolonged existence. "Ten States, embracing four-fifths of the American people, earnestly desired the immediate abolition of the African Slave Trade, and only three, viz., the two Carolinas and Georgia, desired its continuance. These three States, lying in the extreme southern part of the Union, under a hot climate, and embracing an immense, fertile, uncultivated territory, which could be cultivated, as their people said, only by negroes, were unwilling to be deprived of the power to import laborers from Africa, and expressed their determination not to join the new league, if the power to prohibit the Slave Trade should be conferred on the General Government. To gratify these States, in the first draft of the Constitution, an article was inserted expressly *withholding from Congress forever* the power to abolish the Slave Trade. When this article came up for discussion in the Convention, delegates from *New England* manifested their willingness to allow the article to stand as a part of the Constitution, if the Carolinas and

* History and Antiquities of Boston. 1855. p. 342.

† Curtis's History of the Constitution, Vol. II. p. 55.

Georgia insisted: but Virginia and other Middle States would not consent. Governor Randolph even went so far as to say, that he would sooner risk the Union than consent to insert in the Constitution an article depriving Congress of the power to abolish the Slave Trade. The result of the debate was, that the article was referred to a large Committee, consisting of one member from each State in the Confederacy, to devise, if possible, some compromise, some plan, that would satisfy the Carolinas and Georgia on one side, and the determined Anti-Slave-Trade feeling of Virginia and the Middle States on the other. This Committee reported as a compromise an article investing Congress with power to abolish the foreign Slave Trade *after the year* 1800; thus allowing the Carolinas and Georgia twelve years to import negro laborers from Africa, and allowing the other ten States, under the general power of Congress to regulate commerce, to abolish the traffic after that period. The Carolinas and Georgia would, doubtless, have been satisfied with twelve years, if they could have obtained no more; but, when the article was under discussion, with this limitation, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved, as an amendment, that 1800 be struck out and 1808 inserted; thus allowing twenty years instead of twelve for the continuance of the trade. *This motion was seconded by a member from Massachusetts, and* when the vote was taken, *every New England State present*—Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire—with the Carolinas, Georgia and Maryland, *voted for the amendment*, while Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware stood firm for 1800. New York and Rhode Island were not present.

"To understand the motive of the delegates from New England in thus voting with the Carolinas and Georgia to extend the duration of the African Slave Trade from twelve to twenty years, it should be known, that in the same first draft of the Constitution, which contained the article withholding from Congress forever the power to abolish the Slave Trade, there was also an article declaring that '*no Navigation Acts shall be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members present in each House.*' This article was inserted in the interest of *all* the great Slave States, to prevent New England

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from monopolizing their carrying Trade by Navigation Acts, which would impose heavy tonnage duties on foreign ships, and exclude them from Southern ports. In this state of things, when the New England delegates in the Convention saw that the great Slave States were united in opposition to Navigation Acts, but were divided in regard to the continuance of the Slave Trade—that South Carolina wanted the Slave Trade, while Virginia was earnestly opposed to it—they went to South Carolina and virtually said: 'you want slaves, and we want a Navigation Act. Cease your opposition to a Navigation Act; expunge the article in the Constitution making a vote of two-thirds necessary to pass one; allow a majority of Congress to pass a Navigation Act, and we will join you in extending the Slave Trade from 1800 to 1808.' This, if Mr. Madison's report is true, must have been the bargain; and the facts certainly seem to justify him in this view of it; for, when the report of the Committee of one from each State, recommending that Congress be invested with power to abolish the Slave Trade in 1800, came up for discussion, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to strike out 1800, and insert 1808. This was *seconded by a delegate from Massachusetts*, and, *when the question was put, every New England State present voted for* 1808!

"If this is a true statement, we must admit that New England is responsible, as *particeps criminis*, for the importation of the 39,075 slaves that were landed in the port of Charleston in the years 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807; and for the importation of all the slaves that were landed from abroad in any part of the United States during the eight years from 1800 to 1808, be the number 100,000, or more or less than 100,000. We must admit this responsibility of the New England States, because it is clear that by joining with Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, they might have stopped the African Slave Trade in 1800; and that they gave their vote for permitting its continuance till 1808, for the purpose of securing in return a vote of South Carolina, that would give to New England ship-owners the carrying trade of the Slave States. New England accomplished her object. She secured

the carrying trade of the Slave States, and the profits of that trade have been a great source, if not the great source, of the immense capital now invested in her railways, her cotton mills, her woolen mills, and all the other branches of her prosperous industry."

Such was the bargain then made between the North and the South on the extension of the Slave Trade. In proof of this, we shall quote from Mr. Madison's Report of the Debates in the Federal Convention for forming the Constitution. Long as the extracts are, they will repay perusal, and they are indispensable to a right understanding of a portion of the National Constitution.

In the Convention, Aug. 21, 1787,—

Mr. L. Martin, (of Maryland,) proposed to vary Article 7, Section 4, so as to allow a prohibition, or tax on, the importation of Slaves.* In the first place, as five slaves are to be counted as three freemen, in the apportionment of Representatives, such a clause would leave an encouragement to this traffic. In the second place, slaves weakened one part of the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect; the privilege of importing them was therefore unreasonable. And in the third place, it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character, to have such a feature in the Constitution.

Mr. Rutledge (of S. C.) did not see how the importation of slaves could be encouraged by this section. He was not apprehensive of insurrections, and would readily exempt the other States from the obligation to protect the Southern against them. Religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is, whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union. If the Northern States consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers.

Mr. Ellsworth (of Conn.) was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every State import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of Slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the States are the best judges of their particular interest. The old Confedera-

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* Original plan of Constitution as reported, Aug. 6, 1787.

Art. vii. Sec. 4. No tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on articles exported from any State, nor on the migration or importation of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit, nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited.

Art. vii. Sec. 5. No Capitation Tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census herein before directed to be taken.

Art. vii. Sec. 6. No Navigation Act shall be passed, without the assent of two-thirds of the members present in each House. (Madison Papers, Vol. II. pp. 1233–34.)

tion had not meddled with this point; and he did not see any greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one.

Mr. Pinckney; (said) South Carolina can never receive the plan, if it prohibits the Slave Trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Congress, that State has expressly and watchfully excepted that of meddling with the importation of negroes. If the States be all left at liberty on this subject, South Carolina may, perhaps, by degrees, do of herself what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland already have done. Adjourned.

Wednesday, August 22d, 1687. *In Convention*, Art. 7, Sec. 4, was resumed.

Mr. *Sherman* (of Conn.) *was for leaving the clause as it stands.* He disapproved of the Slave Trade; yet as the States were now possessed of the right to import slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them, and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of Government, *he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it.* He observed that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it. He urged on the Convention the necessity of dispatching its business.

Col. Mason; (of Virginia, said,) this infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands. But their folly dealt by the slaves as it did by the tories. He mentioned the dangerous insurrections of the slaves in Greece and Sicily; and the instructions given by Cromwell to the Commissioners sent to Virginia, to arm the servants and slaves, in case other means of obtaining its submission should fail. Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same, in substance. All this would be in vain, if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands; and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor, when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effects on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the States being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential, in every point of view, that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.

Mr. Ellsworth; (of Conn.) as he had never owned a slave, could not judge of the effects of slavery on character. He said, however, that if it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go further, and free those already in the country. As slaves also multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland, that it is cheaper to raise

than import them, whilst in the sickly rice swamps, foreign supplies are necessary, if we go no further than is urged, we shall be unjust towards South Carolina and Georgia. *Let us not intermeddle.* As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country. Provision is already made in Connecticut for abolishing it. And the abolition has already taken place in Massachusetts. As to the danger of insurrections from foreign influence, that will become a motive to kind treatment of slaves.

Mr. Pinckney; (of S. C.) If slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world. He cited the case of Greece, Rome, and other ancient States; the sanction given by France, England, Holland, and other modern States. In all ages, one half of mankind have been slaves. If the Southern States were let alone, they will probably of themselves stop importations. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it. An attempt to take away the right, as proposed, will produce serious objections to the Constitution, which he wished to see adopted.

General Pinckney (of S. C.) declared it to be his firm opinion, that if himself and all his colleagues were to sign the Constitution and use their personal influence, it would be of no avail towards obtaining the assent of their constituents. South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. Her slaves will rise in value, and she has more than she wants. It would be unequal, to require South Carolina and Georgia to confederate on such unequal terms. He said the Royal assent, before the Revolution, had never been refused to South Carolina, as to Virginia. He contended that the importation of slaves would be for the interest of the whole Union. The more slaves, the more produce to employ the carrying trade; the more consumption also; and the more of this, the more revenue for the common treasury. He admitted it to be reasonable that slaves should be dutied like other imports; but should consider a rejection of the clause as an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union.

Mr. Baldwin (of Georgia) had conceived national objects alone to be before the Convention; not such as, like the present, were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point. That State has always hitherto supposed a General Government to be the pursuit of the central States, who wished to have a vortex for everything; that her distance would preclude her from equal advantage; and that she could not prudently purchase it by yielding national powers. From this it might be understood in what light she would view an attempt to abridge one of her favorite prerogatives. If left to herself, she may probably put a stop to the evil. As one ground for this conjecture, he took notice of the sect of ——; which, he said, was a respectable class of people, who carried their ethics beyond the mere *equality of men*, extending their humanity to the claims of the whole animal creation.

Mr. Wilson (of Penn.) observed that if South Carolina and Georgia were themselves disposed to get rid of the importation of slaves in a short time, as had been suggested, they would never refuse to unite, because the importation might be prohibited. As the section now stands, all articles imported are to be taxed, slaves alone are exempt. This is in fact a bounty on that article.

Mr. Gerry (of Mass.) *thought that we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to Slaves*, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it.

Mr. Dickinson (of Delaware) considered it as inadmissible, on every principle of

honor and safety, that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitution. The true question was, whether the national happiness would be promoted or impeded by the importation; and this question ought to be left to the National Government, not to the States particularly interested. If England and France permit slavery, slaves are, at the same time, excluded from both these kingdoms. Greece and Rome were made unhappy by their slaves. He could not believe that the Southern States would refuse to confederate on the account apprehended; especially as the power was not likely to be immediately exercised by the General Government.

Mr. Williamson (of N. C.) stated the law of North Carolina on the subject, to-wit, that it did not directly prohibit the importation of slaves. It imposed a duty of £5 on each slave imported from Africa; £10 on each from elsewhere; and £50 on each from a State licensing manumission. He thought the Southern States could not be members of the Union, if the clause should be rejected; and that it was wrong to force anything down not absolutely necessary, and which any State must disagree to.

Mr. King (of Mass.) thought the subject should be considered in a political light only. If two States will not agree to the Constitution, as stated on one side, he could affirm with equal belief, on the other, that great and equal opposition would be experienced from the other States. He remarked on the exemption of slaves from duty, whilst every other import was subjected to it, as an inequality that could not fail to strike the commercial sagacity of the Northern and Middle States.

Mr. Langdon (of N. H.) was strenuous for giving the power to the General Government. He could not, with a good conscience, leave it with the States, who could then go on with the traffic, without being restrained by the opinions here given, that they will themselves cease to import slaves.

General Pinckney (of S. C.) thought himself bound to declare candidly, that he did not think South Carolina would stop her importation of slaves, in any short time; but only stop them occasionally, as she now does. He moved to commit the clause, that slaves might be made liable to an equal tax with other imports; which, he thought right, and which would remove one difficulty that had been started.

Mr. Rutledge; (of S. C.) If the Convention thinks that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, will ever agree to the plan, unless their right to import slaves be untouched, the expectation is vain. The people of those States will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest. He was strenuous against striking out the section, and seconded the motion of General Pinckney for a commitment.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris (of Penn.) wished the whole subject to be committed, including the clauses relating to taxes on exports, and to a Navigation Act. *These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States.*

Mr. Butler of (S. C.) declared, that he would never agree to the power of taxing exports.

Mr. Sherman (of Conn.) *said it was better to let the Southern States import slaves, than to part with them, if they made that a sine qua non.* He was opposed to a tax on slaves imported, as making the matter worse, because it implied they were *property.* He acknowledged that if the power of prohibiting the importation should be given to the General Government, that it would be exercised. He thought it would be its duty to exercise the power.

Mr. Read (of Del.) was for the commitment, provided the clause concerning taxes on exports should also be committed.

Mr. Sherman (of Conn.) observed that that clause had been agreed to, and therefore could not be committed.

Mr. Randolph (of Va.) was for committing, in order that some middle ground might, if possible, be found. *He could never agree to the clause as it stands. He would sooner risk the Constitution.* He dwelt on the dilemma to which the Convention was exposed. By agreeing to the clause, it would revolt the Quakers, the Methodists, and many others in the States having no slaves. On the other hand, two States might be lost to the Union. Let us, then, he said, try the chance of a commitment.

On the question for committing the remaining part of sections 4 and 5, of Article 7,—Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—7; New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Delaware, no—3; Massachusetts absent.

Mr. Pickney (of S. C.) and Mr. Langdon (of N. H.) moved to commit Section 6, as to a Navigation Act, by two-thirds of each House.

Mr. Gorham (of Mass.) did not see the propriety of it. Is it meant to require a greater proportion of votes? He desired it to be remembered that the Eastern States had no motive to union but a commercial one. They were able to protect themselves. They were not afraid of external danger, and did not need the aid of the Southern States.

Mr. Wilson (of Penn.) wished for a commitment, in order to reduce the proportion of votes required.

Mr. Ellsworth (of Conn.) was for taking the plan as it is. This widening of opinions had a threatening aspect. If we do not agree on this middle and moderate ground, he was afraid we should lose two States, with such others as may be disposed to stand aloof; should fly into a variety of shapes and directions, and, most probably, into several confederations; and not without bloodshed.

On the question for committing Section 6, as to a Navigation Act, to a member from each State, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina Georgia, aye,—9. Connecticut, New Jersey, no,—2.

The Committee were Messrs. Langdon, King, Johnson, Livingston, Clymer, Dickinson, L. Martin, Madison, Williamson, C. C. Pinckney, Baldwin.

To this Committee were referred, also, the two clauses above mentioned of the fourth and fifth Sections of Article VII.

Friday, Aug. 24. In Convention, Gouverneur Livingston, from the Committee of eleven, to whom were referred the two remaining clauses of the 4th Section, and the 5th and 6th Sections of the 7th Article, delivered in the following Report:

"Strike out so much of the 4th Section as was referred to the Committee, and insert *The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature, prior to the year* 1800; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation, at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports.†

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* Madison papers, Vol. III. pp. 1388–97. † *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 1415.

The 5th Section to remain as in the Report.

The 6th Section to be stricken out. [This Section required that no Navigation Act should be passed, without the assent of two-thirds of the members of each House.]*

Saturday, Aug. 25th. The Report of the Committee of Eleven being taken up, General Pickney (of S. C.) *moved to strike out the words "the year eighteen hundred," as the year limiting the importation of slaves, and to insert the words, "the year eighteen hundred and eight.*

Mr. Gorham (of Mass.) seconded the motion.

Mr. Madison; (of Va) Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character, than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.

On the motion, which passed in the affirmative,—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—7; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, no—4.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris (of Penn.) was for making the clause read at once, "the importation of slaves into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, shall not be prohibited, &c." This he said would be most fair, and would avoid the ambiguity by which, under the power with regard to Naturalization, the liberty reserved to the States might be defeated. He wished it to be known, also, that this part of the Constitution was a compliance with those States. If the change of language, however, should be objected to, by the members from those States, he should not urge it.

Colonel Mason (of Va.) was not against using the term "Slaves," but against naming North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, lest it should give offence to the people of those States.

Mr. Sherman (of Conn.) liked a description better than the terms proposed, which had been declined by the old Congress, and were not pleasing to some people.

Mr. Clymer (of Penn.) concurred with Mr. Sherman.

Mr. Williamson (of N. C.) said, that both in opinion and practice he was against slavery; but thought it more in favor of humanity, from a view of all circumstances, to let in South Carolina and Georgia on those terms, than to exclude them from the Union.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris (of Penn.) withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dickinson (of Del.) wished the clause to be confined to the States which had not themselves prohibited the importation of slaves; and for that purpose moved to amend the clause, so as to read:—"The importation of slaves into such of the States as shall permit the same, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature of the United States, until the year 1808;" which was disagreed to, *nem con.*

The first part of the Report was then agreed to, amended as follows; "The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1808."—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—7; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, no—4.†

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* Madison Papers, Vol. III. p. 1415. † *Ibid.* Vol. III. pp. 1427–29.

[On Wednesday, Aug. 29th, 1787, the Report of the Committee of Eleven on striking out the clause, Art. 7, Sec. 6, requiring two-thirds of both Houses to pass a Navigation Act, came up in Convention.]

General Pinckney (of S. C.) said it was the true interest of the Southern States to have no regulation of commerce; but, considering the loss brought upon the commerce of the Eastern States by the Revolution, their liberal conduct toward the views of South Carolina, and the interest the weak Southern States had in being united with the strong Eastern States, he thought it proper that no fetters should be imposed on the power of making commercial regulations; and that his constituents, though prejudiced against the Eastern States, would be reconciled to this liberality. [Mr. Madison says in a note, that by "the liberal conduct of the Eastern States," Gen. Pinckney "meant, the permission to import slaves. An understanding on the two subjects of Navigation and Slavery had taken place between those parts of the Union, which explains the vote on the motion depending, as well as the language of General Pinckney and others." The motion to strike out the clause requiring a two-thirds vote to pass a Navigation Act was, after debate, agreed to, unanimously.*]

But, this is not all. Not only was the proposition to extend the Slave Trade during twenty years, instead of twelve years, *seconded in this Federal Convention by a Delegate from New England, and voted for by all the Delegates from the New England States,* but New England took a most prominent part in the Slave Trade itself, during the period when that trade was thus continued. The ports of South Carolina having been closed for many years to the importation of slaves, were opened by the State to that trade, under the protection of Congress, for four years, from Jan. 1, 1804, to Dec. 31, 1807. In the year 1820, on the admission of Missouri to the Union, a violent opposition to its admission was made on the part of the Abolitionists in both Houses of Congress; and, among others, by Hon. Mr. DeWolf, U. S. Senator from Rhode Island; who had been elected to that body by the Abolition party. During the discussion, the Hon. Mr. Smith, U. S. Senator from South Carolina, delivered an address, in which he presented the statistics which we give below. It was made to appear, that this same Hon. Mr. DeWolf, the Abolition U. S. Senator from Rhode Island, had been himself the owner of ten of the slave ships and their Cargoes, which had been engaged in the Slave Trade during the four years of its re-opening. The extent to which New England participated in the Slave Trade, will appear,

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* Madison Papers, Vol. III. pp. 1451–6

though only in part, by the facts cited by the Hon. Mr. Smith, as follows :—

On the Bill for the admission of Missouri, Dec. 8, 1820, the Hon. Mr. Smith, in the United States Senate, in the course of his speech, said as follows :—

"However, hearing, late in the Summer, that the storm was gathering to the North, and that the admission of Missouri into the Union would be opposed on account of Slavery, or something springing from that source, he wrote to a friend in Charleston, to apply to the Custom House officer, for a full statement of all the Ships engaged in that Trade during the four years, together with their Owners, Consignees, their places of residence, Country, Nation to which they belonged, &c., that he might be able to show the public who were engaged in it. In answer to his request, he had received from the Custom House books, from the hands of the Collector, the following authentic Documents. He would present to the Senate, in the first place, the documents which contained the years of arrival, the Names of the Vessels, the place to which the Vessel belonged, the Names of the Proprietors, the Names of the Consignees, their Country, and to where they belonged."

[Explanation.—B. British; F. French; N. E. New England; R. I. Rhode Island.]

VESSELS NAMES—PROPRIETORS—OF WHAT COUNTRY.

1804.

Aurora, Cha'ston, A; S. E. Turner; N. E.
Ann, B.; W. McCleod; Scotland.
Easter, B.; Boyd;
Brilliant, B.; Bixby; R. I.
Armed Neutrality, Charleston; Napier, Smith & Co.; G. B.
Argo, R. I.; James Miller; Ireland.
Thomas, B.; James & Price; G. B.
Horizon, Cha'ston; A. & J. McClure; G. B.
Harriot, F.; James Broadfoot; G. B.
Eliza, R. I.; James Millar; G. B.
Alexander, Cha'ston; W. Broadfoot; G. B.
Francis, Charleston; J. Potter; G. B.
Christopher, B.; Wm. Boyd; G. B.
Favorite, R. I.; James Millar; G. B.
McLespine, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Susanna, Charleston; S. E. Turner: N. E.
Active, B.; J. Campbell; G. B.
Hamilton, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Ruby, Charleston; W. Boyd: G. B.
Mary, Norfolk; J. Broadfoot; G. B.

1805.

Perseverance, B.; Turner & Price; G. B.
Kitty, Charleston; G. Parker; Charleston.
Lupin, B.; Bixby; R I.
Mary Huntley, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Gov. Wentworth, B.; Turner & Price; G.B.
Experiment, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Eagle, R. I.; Gardner & Phillips; R. I.
Neptune, R. I.; E. Cook; R. I.
Fanny, B.; Turner & Price; G. B.
Thomas, Cha'ston; Turner & Price; G. B.
Nile, Charleston; Wm Boyd; G. B.
Recourse, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Isabella, B.; I. S. Allen; G. B.
Armed Neutrality, Charleston; Napier & Smith; G. B.
Susanna, Cha'ston; J. Duncan & Co.; G.B.
Love and Unity, B.; S. Adams; R. I.
Manning, B.; Trenno & Cox; G. B.
Jack Park, B.; John Price; G. B.
Juliet, R. I.; Phillips & Gardner; R. I.
Margaret, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Louisa, R. I.; Phillips & Gardner; R. I.
Ariel, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Estor, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Margaret, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Hiram, R. I.; Phillips & Gardner; R. I.
Louisiana, B.; Eddy; R. I.
Maria, B.; Cooper; G. B.
Hambleton, B.; Wm. Boyd; G. B.
Rambler, R. I.; E. Sayer; R. I.
William, B.; Turner & Price; G. B.

1806.

Ariel, B.; Wm. Boyd; G. B.
Mary, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Daphna, Charleston; W. Boyd; G. B.
Carrie, B.; Truno & Cox; G. B.
America, B.; James Broadfoot; G. B.
Davis, Charleston; John Davidson; G. B.

Lydia, Cha'ston; Everingham; N. Jersey.
Dudton, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Amazon, B.; Tunno & Cox; G. B.
Fair American, Cha'ston; J.S.Adams; R.I.
Miller, Charleston; J. Queen; Ireland.
Edward & Edmund; Cooper; G. B.
Factor, R. I.; Sherman; R. I.
Louisa, R. I.; Phillips & Gardner; R. I.
Commerce, R. I.; Sesson; G. B.
Gustavus, Swede; Spencer Man; Cha'ston.
Neptune, R. I.; C. Cook; R. I.
Robert, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Polly, R. I.; Benson, R. I.
Hiram, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Samuel, B.; Gilchrist; New Jersey.
Love and Unity, B.; J. S. Adams; R. I.
Three Sisters, R. I.; W. Champlain; R. I.
Hector, B.; John Watson; G. B.
Ruby, Charleston; W. Boyd; G. B.
Farmer, Charleston; John Carr; G. B.
Maria, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Ceres, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Independence, Baltimore; Churchill; R. I.
Hibernia, B.; Pratt; G. B.
Alert, B.; Wm. Boyd; G. B.
Agent, R. I. Eddy; R. I.
Mary, Charleston; W. Boyd; G. B.
Three Friends, B.; J. Galligan; G. B.
Fair Eliza, R. I; J. Metler; R. I.
Fox, Charleston; J. S. Adams; R. I.
Kitty, Charleston; G. Parker; Charleston.
Hope, R. I.; W. Lyon; R. I.
Nantasket, Charleston; Boohorod; G. B.
John Watson, B.; Tunno & Price; G. B.
Hope, Charleston; Wm. McCormic, Ireland.
Governor Dodsworth, B.; W. Boyd; G.B.
Mary Ann, B.; J. Kennedy; G. B.
Diana, B.; P. Mooney; G. B.
Davenport, B.; J. Everingham; N.Jersey.
Corydon, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Kate, B.; Watson & Co.; G. B.
Mercury, Charleston; W. Kelly; G. B.
Union, B; W. Royd; G. B.
Washington, R. I.; D. McKedvey: G. B.
Louisa, R. I.; Philips & Gardner, R. I.
Nicholson, B.; W. C. Tarmed; G. B.
Edward and Edmund, Charleston; J. Calligan; G. B.
Mercury, B.; J. Watson & Co.; G. B.
Little Ann, R. I.; Christian; Charleston.
Margaret, B.; T. Romlinson; G. B.

1807.

Katy, Charleston; T. Cass'n; G. B.
James, A.; Holmes; G. B.
Eliza, Charleston; Christian & DeWolf; R. I.
Cleopatra, Charleston; W. Boyd; G. B.
Union, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Tartar, B.; G Hambleton; G. B.
Maria, B.; J. Cooper; G. B.
James, Baltimore; N. Ingraham; Mass.
Mary, B.; J. S. Adams; R. I.
Aspinal, B.; Hamilton & Co.; G. B.
James, R. I.; C. Christian; Charleston.
Norfolk, Charleston; Cushman; Ireland.
Fourth of July, B.; G. Parker; Cha'ston.
Dudder, B.; Gibson & Broadfoot; G. B.
Habit, F.; Delan & Co.; France.
Agent, R. I.; T. Eddy; R. I.
Eliza, Charleston; T. Ogin; G. B.
Ann, B.; Tunno & Cox; G. B.
Ellis, B.; James & Price; G. B.
Andromache, R. I.; Drawn; R. I.
Gov. Ciairborn, R. I.; T. Depau; France.
Hiram, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Simiramis, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R.I.
Neptune, R. I.; C. Cook; R. I.
Nancy, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Minerva, Charleston; T. Depau; France.
Columbia, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Factor, R. I.; C. Cook; R. I.
Lavinia; Christian & DeWolf; R. I.
Leander, Charleston; T. Vincent; R. I.
Daphney, Charleston; W.Broadfoot; G.B.
Africa, B.; W. Boyd; G. B.
Three Friends, B.: J. Callgan; G. B.
Eliza, R. I.; J. Christian & DeWolf; R. I.
Lark, R. I.; W. Bradford; R. I.
Alfred, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Louise, Charleston; J. Duncan; G. B.
Hiram, R. I.; Norris; R. I.
Concord, R. I.; Christian & DeWolf; R. I.
Friendship, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Flora, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Ann and Harriet, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Monticello, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Amazon, B.; Bennett; G. B.
Baltimore. R. I.; Church; R. I.
Juliet, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Miriam, B.; Depeau, France.
Heron, Connecticut; C. Fitzsimmons; Ireland.
Ruby, Charleston; W. Boyd; G. B.
Three Sisters, R. I.; De Wolf; R. I.
Betsey and Sally, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Armed Neutrality, Charleston; Boyd; G. B.
Anna, Neutrality, Charleston; Depau; France.
John B. Charleston; Tunno & Price; France.
Nantasket, Cha'ston; Bousroyel; France.
George Clinton, Britain; Delai & Clement; France.
Eagle, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Port Mary, Charleston; W. Boyd; Britain.
Eliza, Charleston; Christy; Charleston.
Mary, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.

Eagle, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Actor, Charleston; P. Kennedy; Ireland.
Hanna Bartlett, Charleston; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Mary, Charleston; J. Eglistin; R. I.
Edward and Edmund, Charleston; Hilton; R. I.
Charleston, Charleston; Bailey & Wailer; Britain.
Experience, Boston; Fisher; R. I.
Rambler, R. I.; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Eliza, B.; J. B. Cotton; R. I.
Cleopatra, Charleston; W. Floyd; Britain.
Hope, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Charlotte, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Albert, Charleston; W. Timmon; S. C.
Commerce, R. I.; W. Lyon; R. I.
Hope, Charleston; N. Ingram; Mass.
Wealthy Ann; DeWolf; R. I.
Columbia, R. I; Philips & Gardner; R. I.
Agenora, R. R.; De Wolf; R. I.
Mercury, B.; M. Kelly; Ireland.
Venus, Charleston; Preble; R. I.
Agent, Charleston; Depau; French.
General Clairborne, do.; Depau; French.
James, R. I.; DeWolf; R. I.
Resolution, Charleston; J. S. Adams; Britain.
William and Mary, Charleston; H. Kerr; Britain.
Caroline, F.; Synagal; French.
Polly, Charleston; J. Stoney; Charleston.
Jupiter, Norfolk; J. Willick: Britain.
Heart of Oak, Baltimore; J. S. Adams; R. I.
Horizon, B.; J. S. Adams; R. I.
Mary Ann, Charleston; A. S. Miller; R. I.
Mary Ann, Baltimore; Dallas; R. I.
Rio, Charleston; O'Harra; Charleston.
Sally, B.; C. Graves; Charleston.

Mr. Smith then read the recapitulation, in the following words and figures :—

RECAPITULATION of the African trade, and by what nation supported, from January 1st, 1804, to December 31st, 1807.

VESSELS BELONGING TO

Charleston,	61	Connecticut,	1
Rhode Island,	59	Swede,	1
Baltimore,	4	British,	70
Boston,	1	French,	3
Norfolk,	2		

Consignees, natives of Charleston,	13
Consignees, natives of Rhode Island,	88
Consignees, natives of Britain,	91
Consignees of France,	10
Total,	202

This paper, Sir, contains the whole number of slaves imported, and the particular number imported by each foreign nation, and each of the United States. It is in the following words and figures:

Slaves imported at Charleston, from the 1st of Jan., 1804, to 31st December, 1807, and by what nation.

British,	19,949	
French,	1,078	
		21,027

IN AMERICAN VESSELS.

Charleston, S. C.	7,723	Baltimore,	750
Of this number there were, belonging to foreigners,	5,717	Savannah,	300
		Norfolk,	287
Leaving, imported by merchants and planters of Cha'ston and vicinity,	2,006	Warren,	280
		Hartford,	250
Bristol, Rhode Island, 3,914		Boston,	200
Newport, 3,488	7,958	Philadelphia,	200
Providence, 556		New Orleans,	100
			18,048
			39,075

There, Sir, ends the black catalogue. It would show to the Senate, that those people who most deprecate the evils of Slavery and traffic in human flesh, when a profitable market can be found, can sell human flesh with as easy a conscience as they sell other articles. The whole number imported by the merchants and planters of Charleston and its vicinity, were only two thousand and six. Nor were the slaves imported by the foreigners, and other American vessels and owners, sold to the Carolinians, only in a small part. They were sold to the people of the Western States, Georgia, New Orleans, and a considerable quantity were sent to the West Indies, especially when the market became dull in Carolina."

This, then, is the record. The extreme North having, in way of bargain, united with the extreme South, by formal action, and by a unanimous vote, in prolonging the Slave Trade, against the remonstrances of the more moderate men of the Southern and Middle States; (Mr. Sherman and Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, as we have seen above, were in favor of not interfering with the Slave Trade at all, but leaving it to the States themselves) and having, subsequently, in the persons of her citizens, and for the lust of gain, embarked in the Slave Trade, and as long as that trade was tolerated, forced thousands of Africans into bondage, and so, as well as by the Navigation Acts, amassed the wealth which now enriches the descendants of those men; we say, that whoever else may meddle with Slavery in the Slave States, she, of all others, is called upon to let it alone. By the letter of the Constitution, to which her sons are bound by the solemnity of an oath, she has no right to touch it. Whatever the sympathies and sentiments of her people at the present day may be in respect to Slavery, whatever the actual effect of this War is, and will be, upon the institution itself, and of this there is no longer any doubt, yet interference, as an end, with the institution, does not belong to her.

It is becoming certain that the conservative element of the country has a great work to do in the final settlement of our national troubles. There is such an element. It exists in the North and the South, the East and the West. It will prove, when the fury and rage of War are spent, a controlling element. The far-seeing wisdom, the lofty patriotism, the Christian philanthropy of Washington, Madison, and Franklin, and the other great Fathers of the Republic, are not yet dead and perished out of the land. Their great names still stand inscri-

bed, clear and luminous, on the work which, amid anxiety, and obloquy, and self-sacrifice, and prayers, they wrought out. And if, from their lofty heights, their spirits now look down upon the threatened wreck and ruin of it all, in what words would they now address us! To what heroic deeds would they now summon us! Is it so, that we are no more to gather around their sacred shrines, save wiih the mantle of shame upon our cheeks, as we see their hallowed dust trampled by Vandal feet? Is it so, that the TOMB OF WASHINGTON has, henceforth, lost its talismanic power? Surely the men now upon the stage, to whom the solution of our difficulties will be entrusted, are not purer, nor nobler, nor wiser Statesmen than they. The same great questions which now distract the public councils and inflame the public mind, were canvassed then, in all their length and breadth; and the solemn words of warning which George Washington then uttered, should be reëchoed in the public ear now.

Christian Statesmen, who are not afraid nor ashamed to follow the footsteps of these noble men, will not consent, that the extreme North and the extreme South shall again unite to sever the Union, and plunge the whole nation into destruction, by a policy the very reverse of that which, in the beginning, bound them together; a policy, which philanthropy, and patriotism, and Christianity, all unite in declaring to be fraught with wretchedness and ruin. There are, we know, multitudes of noble men in both extreme sections of this country, who are already looking out for such manifestation of wisdom, moderation, and true philanthropy. They shall not always, nor long look in vain. Meanwhile, let the prayers of Christians still go up to the God of Heaven unceasingly, that He will assuage the violent storm of passion; that He will cause the people to learn Righteousness; and that He will, once more, restore Peace to our now distracted Nation.

In conclusion; we repeat, let the Clergy devote themselves to that Kingdom which is not of this world. Its vows are upon them. Let them minister Christ's Word and Sacraments. It is a work which an Archangel might desire. The "Powers that be," have a right to their loyal obedience, and to their prayers. Beyond this, they are to "let the dead bury their

dead." Let them leave matters of State to Statesmen. Let them be content that the part of clerical harlequins be played by those who love the praise of men, more than the praise of God. Let them dare endure the frowns of scheming demagogues, whose tools they will not stoop to become. Let the Priests of the Lord, in their own sphere in the Church, train up men thoroughly imbued with the principles of the Law of God in Christ; men who are to fill all the various posts of trust in Society and the State, and they will have subserved their country's highest good, far more effectually than by trailing their garments in the mire of political strife.

As *Church Reviewers*, charged with the free discussion of the great questions of the age and times, we have not dared to keep silent, when such momentous interests are, as now, imperiled. Yet it is the moral aspect of this question alone, that has occupied our attention. Up to the very beginning of the War, the Protestant Episcopal Church was regarded as almost the only conservative element in the country. Her love of order, her reverence for authority, her instinctive recognition of the principle of the brotherhood of man; of man, not living isolated and alone, but as a social being; her Mission, as the Ministration of Life and Preacher of Righteousness, and so prompting to all true and genuine Reform;—all this should clothe the Church with commanding dignity and power. A great and glorious work is hers, if she has faith to be true to herself and to her great Head. In pointing to what we believe to be the real causes of our terrible calamities, and their remedy, and to the imminent dangers which now threaten to whelm our nation in one common ruin, we have uttered our honest convictions. They who take counsel only of their own hatred of God, and of His Son, and of His Church, of their own ambition, avarice, and self-conceit, are not to be approached with reasons such as these which have been urged. Yet, if madness does not rule the hour, if there is such a thing left as a principle of right, justice and honor, if the Divine Spirit of love, peace, forgiveness, forbearance, and reconciliation, has any hold on the public mind, the views which we have presented will not fail of consideration.

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